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24 June 52 - ohr

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Rear Admiral Sidney W. Souers
Special Advisor to the President
The White House

SUBJECT:

Possible Presidential Statement on Soviet
Propaganda and our Counter-measures.

1. Confirming our telephone conversation and in accordance with the instruction of General Smith, I am sending to you herewith a rough draft of proposed Presidential statement which has been put together by our staff. General Smith is very anxious for you to look this proposed statement over, and if you consider it of sufficient significance and value, we would like to have you discuss it briefly with such of the President's other advisors as to you may seem most appropriate.

2. The thoughts underlying the preparation of this draft statement are several. First, we consider that a Presidential statement exposing and condemning the violent Soviet propaganda campaign which is currently proceeding at an all-time high against the United States, is most desirable at this time. General Smith is aware of the President's grave concern about this "Hate America" campaign and believes that for this reason the President might be the more interested in making a statement on the subject. Secondly, the draft contains a significant policy statement concerning the US position toward the ultimate liberation of the slave states of Eastern Europe. The development of such a policy statement has been progressing for some time and is presently under review by the Psychological Strategy Board. It will probably come up for further, and hopefully final, consideration at the next meeting of the Psychological Strategy Board on Thursday, 19 June 1952. Finally, you will recall that at the time the President wrote to Mr. Gordon Gray to inform him that he did not consider it desirable to publish Mr. Gray's report on the Psychological Strategy Board, he said that he would seek an early occasion to make a statement on the general subject and that he might draw on certain of the thoughts and ideas in Mr. Gray's report. Accordingly, this would be a way of discharging that undertaking.

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3. The draft statement is not regarded by us as adequate and it is rather our thought that if you believe this to be a worthwhile effort, some time and attention might be devoted by one or more of the truly professional speech writers on the White House staff, with a view to tightening up and polishing the statement. In my own view the piece is too lengthy and too vituperative to be acceptable for Presidential use in its present form. The draft should be regarded more as a think-piece -- a collection of thoughts and ideas, which might be reworked and used as a timely commentary on the provocative nature of current Soviet propaganda and psychological warfare, e. g. the behavior of the Communist negotiators at Panmunjom and Malik's effrontery in raising their own Big Lie as an issue before the UN Security Council.

(SIGNED) FRANK G. WISNER

FRANK G. WISNER
Deputy Director

Encl (1)
Draft of subject speech.

O/DD/p-FCW/bjm
June 18, 1952

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Fellow Americans:

In times of crisis it has become customary for the President of the United States to lay the facts before the American people. Tonight I want to tell you something about the monstrous use of psychological warfare ordered by the rulers of the Soviet Union in an attempt to create hatred for the American people throughout the world. It is vital in this critical period that the American people understand the nature of this subversive attack and place it in its proper context. I also want to tell you what your government is doing to meet and repel this crime against peace.

In January of last year, the Kremlin embarked on an unprecedented world-wide psychological warfare offensive. The theme of this offensive was, and still is: Hate America. In contrast to its previous limited objective campaigns, the Kremlin has now concentrated the whole vast fire of its apparatus against the American military and inferentially against the American people they represent. For eighteen months the Kremlin has assailed us with vicious falsehoods and pernicious lies, and at the present moment this attack has reached a new level of violence.

Day after day, with deadly repetition, the Soviet Union and their Satellites broadcast a scurrilous accounting of rape, murder, pillage and arson by American troops in Korea. From Pyongyang, Peking, and Moscow, the air is crowded each day with fictional case histories of American atrocity victims. We are accused of having electrocuted recalcitrant Korean prisoners of war, of having cremated them in atom bomb tests. We are accused of having fired poison gas shells; we are accused of having condemned Korean children to bordellos, of having mutilated their mothers in bayonet drill. And we are even accused of having baked live prisoners in ovens to provide fresh meat for our dogs. For eighteen months we have been portrayed as a nation of fiends and ghouls that the Soviets and their captive peoples of Asia might be incited to hate us more.

Six months ago the Reds intensified this offensive with as infamous and as fraudulent a lie as any nation ever leveled against another. On February 22, 1952, the Foreign Minister of North Korea

accused the United States of having initiated bacterial warfare against the North Korean and Chinese Communist armies. Two weeks later, the Chinese Communist Party charged the United States with 148 bacterial warfare missions against Chinese troops and civilians in Manchuria.

Despite the absurdity of these charges, your government recognized that vicious lies constantly repeated can create doubts in men's minds. We joined with the United Nations in urging that the International Red Cross be permitted to investigate these charges. The Chinese Communists, the North Koreans, and their masters in the Soviet Union could not permit an impartial investigation for fear of convicting themselves of wilful perpetration of the "Big Lie."

Shortly thereafter, the Communists received a crushing indictment as a result of the voluntary screening of over 140,000 prisoners of war of the U.N. forces in Korea. More than half of the prisoners begged not to be repatriated to their Communist homelands.

In a vicious effort to conceal such a significant truth, Communist agitators incited riots in Koje Island prison camps, while the Kremlin's propaganda machine fabricated charges of atrocities by American prison guards. The peoples of the Soviet Union and its occupied territories were assailed with a brutal recital of lies about Koje -- designed of course to obscure the fact that the majority of Korean and Chinese soldiers in UN prison camps do not want to go back to their homeland as long as the Communists are in power.

Why, we must ask ourselves, why is the Soviet deliberately goading its people into so frenzied a hatred of the United States?

What is to come in the wake of this all-out psychological offensive?

For, despite the propaganda resources and restraints available to a dictatorship state, the Kremlin cannot sustain this artificially induced frenzy as a permanent psychological climate.

The hate-America offensive, therefore, is meaningful to us.

Either it is an omen of danger for the United States and the rest of the free world. Or it is an augury of serious distress within the Soviet Union and its Communist empire. Or it may be a combination of the two.

Because hate-conditioning is essential to the prosecution of an aggressive design, this hate-America campaign can be interpreted as the forerunner of possible fresh Communist military adventures.

At no time has a nation with aggressive military ambitions been confronted with more deadly penalties for rashness than those which confront the Soviet Union. Nowhere in the world can the Kremlin hope to derive sufficient benefit from armed aggression to compensate its peoples for the travail they would be forced to endure. Previous aggressors have suffered the consequences of their own tragic miscalculations. The Kremlin can no longer reckon upon the improbability of armed resistance. Not only is the free world willing to fight if called upon for its own self-preservation, but, more importantly, it possesses sufficient military strength to crush any willful aggressor.

More likely than an omen of an immediate war is the probability that this hate-America propaganda offensive was devised by the Kremlin to distract the Soviet peoples from the distress of their own regime. For, while our robust economy enables us to strengthen our defenses while also providing for material welfare of our own people and our friends, the Soviet must tax its people and those in its captive states with privations to meet its deliveries of war materials. Even the Kremlin cannot totally suppress the dissatisfaction of many of its peoples with the poverty and hopelessness of their unhappy lives.

To escape that censure which every dictatorship fears, the Kremlin has sought to hang the responsibility for those burdens around the necks of the American people. Thus, we are to be made the targets of hate for an internal condition which might otherwise shake the stability of the Soviet regime. The tactic is as old as the dictatorship state. When internal stresses threaten the regime, divert the people to an enemy outside.

If this appraisal be an accurate one, then the hate-America campaign of the Kremlin is a fearful admission of weakness. It is proof of our historic contention that even as adroit a dictatorship as the Soviet Union cannot prosper upon deceit and the exploitation of its own people.

Better than anyone, the Kremlin knows that it cannot endure the truth. It knows that unless it outlaws truth, it may someday be overthrown by it. And it knows that in order to banish truth, it must overwhelm truth with deceit. It must so bind its captive peoples with fear, so poison them with hatred that they shall be incapable of resisting the regime, incapable of believing in rescue. That is why the United States is so viciously portrayed as the enemy of all the peoples in the Communist empire.

Simultaneously, this atrocity propaganda is beamed to the world with specific foreign objectives in mind. Unquestionably, it seeks to malign and discredit the United States in the eyes of its Allies

and the rest of the non-Communist world. It may similarly have sought to create the impression that the United States is aggravating the explosive struggle in Korea.

But because germ warfare is viewed as a form of genocide rather than a weapon of war, the Kremlin may have invented this charge in order to give some moral coloration to the position of the Communists should they resume offensive military operations in Korea or elsewhere. Similarly, it may have been leveled in an effort to undermine, especially among Asiatic peoples, the moral position of the United States and the United Nations.

That the Kremlin should pretend to be outraged by a nonexistent bacterial attack is actually an ironic commentary on its own hypocrisy. The moral indignation of the Kremlin should be weighed against the host of skeletons that are hidden away in its Siberian closets.

If the Communists would appeal to the good conscience of mankind, let them first apply this moral judgment to themselves. Let them search their conscience on the barbarous treatment of American prisoners

of war in Korea; on the brutal abduction of some 200,000 South Korean children; on the 15,000 innocent Greek boys and girls who were snatched from their mothers by Communist guerrillas and transported behind the Iron Curtain; on the hundreds of thousands of German, Austrian, Japanese, and Italian prisoners of war whose families still do not know whether they are alive or will ever return; on the untold thousands of missing East Europeans imprisoned in Soviet mines and forests. Let them search their own conscience on the millions of oppressed Soviet peoples driven like animals in slave labor camps. Let the leaders of the Soviet Union remember that at the end of World War II the United States and Great Britain voluntarily demobilized their troops and dismantled the most formidable military apparatus the world has ever known. We did this in good faith, but the Soviet Union thought it a sign of weakness and ruthlessly began to over-run the smaller and less powerful nations of the world.

If it is moral judgment the Soviet leaders wish, let them remember that morality -- like charity -- best begins at home.

While history has demonstrated that any nation which lives by deceit shall also perish from it, I am not for a moment suggesting that we entrust our welfare and our lives to a maxim. Truth can prevail against Soviet deceit, but truth will prevail only if we meet this vicious psychological offensive with a bold and imaginative counter-

offensive throughout the wide world. We must reject, refute, disprove, and expose Soviet treachery and Soviet deceit wherever it is detected.

There are some who contend we need not contest such patently fraudulent Soviet allegations as those of germ warfare in Asia. Such charges, these well-meaning people assert, are too transparently untrue to be accepted as fact by intelligent and well-informed persons. They forget, however, that millions of people do not have access to all the facts and news of world events and may be influenced by constant repetition of distortions and lies. And they forget that those very people whose opinions they would neglect offer the Soviet its most promising advantage in psychological warfare.

To oppose this unprecedented Russian propaganda of lies, virulence and hatred, we have found it necessary to create a Psychological Strategy Board and entrust it with the important mission of guiding our energies in this war of truth against deceit. Under the able leadership of Gordon Gray, first director of this strategy board, we made an impressive start in this undertaking. It is our intention to press this psychological counteroffensive with such vigor as to convince the

the Kremlin that the day of cheap victories for them in this field is at an end. Soviet leaders are already learning that we are uncovering to the eyes of the world the magnitude of their deceit.

It is important at this time to make clear again to the world and, especially, to the Kremlin, our objectives. American foreign policy strives to attain three essential goals. It seeks to insure the defense of the United States. It seeks the creation and maintenance of a structure for world peace within the terms of the Charter of the United Nations. And it seeks to develop opportunities whereby all peoples may freely establish the governments and institutions under which they shall live.

In the war against Nazism, the United States and Great Britain and the Soviet Union as well, pledged themselves to the principle that those European countries liberated from Nazi despotism should enjoy the right to elect governments of their own choice. The Soviet Union has flatly repudiated this pledge on numerous occasions and ruthlessly prevented the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, etc., from exercising this fundamental right.

We share with those peoples of Europe a common interest which is indispensable to the security of us all. We reaffirm that no single power shall once again dominate Europe, crushing the freedom of European nations and by that act threatening our own.

We therefore declare that it is the policy of the United States that political independence be restored to all the nations overrun by the Soviet Union and that their independence be guaranteed by a world organization that can and will sustain the peace.

It is our earnest belief that this goal can be realized without resort to war. To this end we pledge the following:

- 1) We will continue to strive together with others for the establishment of a Europe united for economic welfare and common security.
- 2) We will support the admission of those countries now under Soviet domination as equal members into the family of friendly nations just as soon as their national liberties can be restored.

- 3) We will strive for the democratic unification of Germany that a Germany thus unified may become a constructive member of the European family with assurance that it will not again threaten the East or West.
- 4) We will continue to share our knowledge and skill in partnership with the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to help them carry out their own plans for economic development and social progress.
- 5) We will link these objectives to unremitting efforts to achieve worldwide armament reduction and control through unrestricted inspection.

We must realize that armament is no more than a temporary shield whose sole function is to hold an aggressor in check. It cannot satisfy the desires of all peoples to live in peace and freedom. And it denies them the need to devote their energies and resources to their own human welfare. But two wars should have sufficed to teach us the lesson of this tragic century: Men cannot

anywhere live in peace and freedom when any area of the globe is threatened by aggression.

Given effective worldwide security arrangements, these objectives of ours can in no way threaten the Soviet's vital national interests. On the contrary, they offer to the Russian people an assurance of security now denied them by the combustible policies of their regime. For the first time the Soviet/Union could pursue the promises of its revolution and devote its vast resources to the welfare of the Russian people.

By this policy we offer peace with freedom to the peoples of many lands. This offer, moreover, is made without restriction or reservation. The United States has no wish to impose its cultural, its social, economic, or political patterns upon any nation. Rather it respects the cultural traditions of each as each nation's best heritage.

We affirm that each nation must be free to organize the pattern of its own national life, limited only by the common requirements of

world peace. Only in this way will all men find the opportunities they seek for progressive fulfillment of their spiritual, social, and economic aspirations. Without such opportunities, it is clearly apparent that there can be no peace.

We want to make it perfectly clear that the Kremlin must either curb its ambitions or risk having those ambitions drag it down to defeat. For we shall not stand impassively by in the face of Soviet conquest whether that conquest be by force, treachery, subversion, or deceit. In affirming the right of peoples to establish free governments of their own choosing, we have entrenched ourselves in a moral position from which we will not be dislodged.

The Kremlin cannot count on a crumbling of resolution within the United States or the free world. With our determined support the spiritual, political, and economic regeneration of the war-ravaged peoples of Europe and Asia is outstanding evidence of the moral strength and recuperative powers of the free world. Many problems remain to be solved, but these peoples and their governments

are there to stay. The Kremlin would do well to study this lesson carefully and to reconsider the fallacious Harrian tenet that the free world is on its last tottering legs. The companion myth of Soviet propaganda is that the road to the better life lies on their side of the Curtain and that peoples who follow their leadership will prosper and come to the enjoyment of all good things.

However, the cruelty and fraudulence of the Communist refrain is by now fully evident to the enslaved and unhappy peoples, including members of the puppet governments of the slave states within the Soviet orbit. With their religious, national, and political freedoms destroyed, these peoples find themselves in ever declining economic circumstances, the victims of exploitation for the sole advantage of the Kremlin. There is mounting evidence at hand that the people of China are also awakening to the realization of their plight and an understanding that a junior partnership with the Soviet Union is the shortest route to serfdom.

The bosses in the Kremlin would do well to reconsider their criminal course of spreading hate and monstrous lies and subversion. Either the Soviet Union will conform to moral law in its relationships with other states and dedicate its own resources to the internal welfare of its own people or it will so outrage the world that an unintentional spark may be fanned into the flame that shall consume it in disaster.

Peace or disaster, this is the choice that confronts the leaders of the Soviet Union. We stand firm, resolute, and prepared to repel any attack. We shall not be intimidated, panicked, or frightened by the clenched fist of the Kremlin.